

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

104th Congress
2nd Session

Vote No. 247

July 26, 1996, 10:05 am
Page S-8944 Temp. Record

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS/Aid to North Korea

SUBJECT: Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1997 . .
. H.R. 3540. Lieberman amendment No. 5078, as amended.

ACTION: AMENDMENT AGREED TO, 73-27

SYNOPSIS: As reported, H.R. 3540, the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1997, will provide \$12.22 billion in new budget authority for foreign aid programs in fiscal year (FY) 1997. This amount is \$707.3 million below the President's request, \$161.6 million below the FY 1996 appropriated amount, and \$298.8 million more than the House-passed amount.

The Lieberman amendment, as amended, would increase funding for the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) to \$25 million from \$13 million. The money would only be used to buy heavy fuel oil and to pay other expenses associated with the Agreed Framework. (Under the Agreed Framework, North Korea is obligated to take certain steps to stop its nuclear power program. North Korea has a 5-megawatt reactor that produces weapons-grade plutonium, and has partially constructed 50-megawatt and 200-megawatt reactors. The Agreed Framework includes the following requirements: North Korea must freeze operation of the 5-megawatt reactor; it must halt construction of the other reactors; it must eventually dismantle its reactors; and it must improve relations with South Korea. In return, Japan and South Korea will spend between \$4 billion and \$6 billion to build two light-water nuclear reactors (which are much less capable of being used for military purposes) in North Korea, and the United States will give North Korea heavy oil until the first light-water reactor is completed (approximately \$25 annually). KEDO was created to implement the Agreed Framework.) As amended, no funds would be given to KEDO unless the President certified the following: the United States was taking steps to assure that progress was being made on the commitments to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula and to implement a North Korea-South Korea dialogue; North Korea was complying with the other provisions of the Agreed Framework and with the Confidential Minute; North Korea was complying with the canning and safe storage of its spent nuclear fuel, and that such canning and safe storage would be completed as scheduled; and North Korea had not significantly diverted any United States assistance. The President could waive these requirements if in the vital national security interests of the United States. If they were

(See other side)

| YEAS (73) | | | NAYS (27) | | NOT VOTING (0) | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Republicans (27 or 51%) | Democrats (46 or 98%) | | Republicans (26 or 49%) | Democrats (1 or 2%) | Republicans (0) | Democrats (0) |
| Abraham | Akaka | Johnston | Ashcroft | Dorgan | | |
| Bond | Baucus | Kennedy | Bennett | | | |
| Campbell | Biden | Kerrey | Brown | | | |
| Chafee | Bingaman | Kerry | Burns | | | |
| Coats | Boxer | Kohl | Craig | | | |
| Cochran | Bradley | Lautenberg | D'Amato | | | |
| Cohen | Breaux | Leahy | DeWine | | | |
| Coverdell | Bryan | Levin | Domenici | | | |
| Frist | Bumpers | Lieberman | Faircloth | | | |
| Grams | Byrd | Mikulski | Frahm | | | |
| Hatfield | Conrad | Moseley-Braun | Gorton | | | |
| Jeffords | Daschle | Moynihan | Gramm | | | |
| Kassebaum | Dodd | Murray | Grassley | | | |
| Lugar | Exon | Nunn | Gregg | | | |
| McCain | Feingold | Pell | Hatch | | | |
| Murkowski | Feinstein | Pryor | Helms | | | |
| Pressler | Ford | Reid | Hutchison | | | |
| Roth | Glenn | Robb | Inhofe | | | |
| Santorum | Graham | Rockefeller | Kempthorne | | | |
| Simpson | Harkin | Sarbanes | Kyl | | | |
| Snowe | Heflin | Simon | Lott | | | |
| Specter | Hollings | Wellstone | Mack | | | |
| Stevens | Inouye | Wyden | McConnell | | | |
| Thomas | | | Nickles | | | |
| Thompson | | | Shelby | | | |
| Thurmond | | | Smith | | | |
| Warner | | | | | | |

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

waived, no aid would be given until 30 days after Congress was notified of such waiver. Further, no aid would be given until the President reported to Congress: on North Korea's cooperation with finding United States military personnel listed as missing in action in Korea; on violations of the 1953 Korean military armistice; on the U.S. efforts to assure North Korean compliance with denuclearization and dialog requirements; and on all instances of noncompliance with the Agreed Framework.

Those favoring the amendment contended:

The United States has approximately 37,000 troops in South Korea to repel an attack by North Korea, if necessary. In recent years, North Korea aggressively pursued a nuclear energy program using graphite-moderated reactors, which produce nuclear waste that can be used to create nuclear weapons. Efforts to get the radical communist government of North Korea to desist failed, as it violated one agreement after another. By October of 1994, the situation was extremely dangerous; North Korea had an operating 5-megawatt reactor that had already produced waste with enough high-grade plutonium in it to make several nuclear weapons. An agreement was then reached with North Korea (the Agreed Framework) that substantially defused the situation. North Korea agreed to shut down its 5-megawatt reactor and stop production of its 50- and 200-megawatt reactors. In return, Japan and North Korea agreed to build it two 100-megawatt light-water reactors that would not make weapons-grade plutonium, and the United States agreed to give it heavy oil for energy production until those reactors were built in order to make up for the energy loss it would suffer from shutting down its reactor. So far, North Korea has been living up to its commitment. The United States should continue living up to its side of the bargain. To do so, \$25 million will be required this year. This bill will only provide \$13 million. The Lieberman amendment would add the extra funding that is needed. Frankly, spending \$25 million is a very minimal cost for the benefits involved. If we allowed tensions to escalate, and ended up in a war, it would cost billions of dollars and thousands of lives (or possibly millions of lives if North Korea used nuclear weapons). The United States is being pretty cheap in this deal--South Korea and Japan are going to end up spending between \$4 billion and \$6 billion on the reactors. We were willing to accept the conditions to the Lieberman amendment that our colleagues insisted upon because they are very reasonable conditions. Basically, they say we should only live up to our end of the bargain for as long as North Korea lives up to its end. Our understanding is that North Korea is doing its part, so attaching these conditions will not result in the aid being withheld. We trust a majority of our colleagues agree that the Agreed Framework has been working in practice, and that they will join us in approving the Lieberman amendment.

While favoring the amendment, some Senators expressed the following reservations:

As long as we have certifications that North Korea is complying with the Agreed Framework, and as long as we have certifications that North Korea is not misusing any U.S. funds, we can support this amendment. With that said, however, we continue to have extremely serious reservations about the Nuclear Framework Agreement with North Korea. Under this deal, the North Koreans get free oil, the benefits of trade and diplomatic relations, two new nuclear reactors, and untold additional benefits, including the tacit forgiveness of their blatant violation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. All it has done in return is freeze its nuclear weapon program, to the extent that we are able to monitor it. In effect, North Korea, in return for violating international law, and in return for breaking agreements 9 separate times in the 2 years of negotiations leading up to the Agreed Framework, is being given a bribe of 2 reactors worth up to \$6 billion in return for its halting its nuclear weapons program. If it wished, it could start that program again tomorrow, and we continue to believe that in time it will renege on this agreement. North Korea is still led by a hardline communist government that is intent on military conquest of South Korea, and it has been taking actions over the past few months to increase tensions in the demilitarized zone. At the same time, one aspect of the Agreed Framework that is definitely in the United States' interest and that is working well is the storage of the spent nuclear fuel rods in the cooling pond at Yongbyon. That fuel is being canned and safeguarded by the Department of Energy, which will finish the job by next March. Due to this aspect of the agreement, we will continue supporting the provision of United States aid so long as the rest of the agreement is adhered to. Over the next 7 years to 10 years, assuming North Korea does not renege on its commitments, the United States will give approximately \$300 million to KEDO. That money should only be given if we can be sure that it will not be misused. The Lieberman amendment, as amended, contains adequate assurances, so we are willing to vote in its favor.

No arguments were expressed in opposition to the amendment.